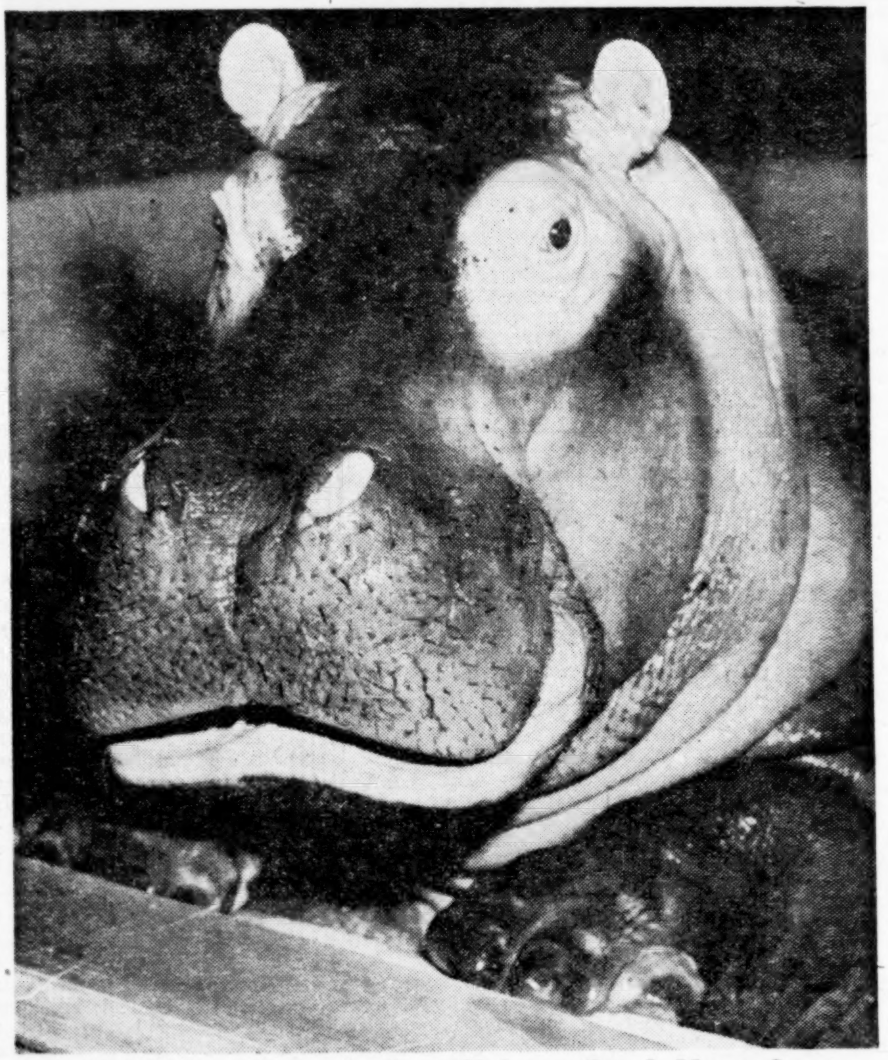
SPECIAL REPORT ON THE ELECTIONS: SIX PAGES OF NEWS, PICTURES & ANALYSIS



Did I hear somebody call for a Dark Horse?

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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VOL. 11, NO. 5 NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 17, 1958

IT WAS A GOP DISASTER

The Democratic tide: How the nation voted and what it's getting

By Elmer Bendiner

ON THE MORNING AFTER election day the **Wall Street Journal** regretfully delivered this verdict: "The Republican Party has simply disintegrated and the wreckage is strewn across 3,000 miles of countryside."

At first glance the devastation seemed complete, with only New York's Governor-elect Nelson Rockefeller rising phoenix-like from the ashes. Closer inspection turned up salvageable bits of GOP scrap like Sen. Barry Goldwater, the Arizona tory. What this gale wind means to the nation could be told only partially by statistics, however. Here is the box-score:

	Democrats	*Republicans*
Old Senate	49	47
New Senate	62	34
Old House	235	200
New House	282	152
Old Governors	29	19
New Governors	34	14

In addition the Democrats stand to gain still further when Alaska votes on Nov. 25.

THE DEMOCRATS: They will have the greatest majorities in both houses of Congress since 1936, the peak year of the New Deal. A party with such a preponderance of power might be expected to impose a new program and a fresh point of view; but it is questionable whether the Democrats have such a program or viewpoint. In fact they seem to be not so much a party as a convenient repository for votes.

On few significant issues does Congress divide along strict party lines. Southern Democrats generally team up with Republican tories on the segregation issue. "Liberals" in both camps log-roll and trade votes on specific battles.

If you take out the one-party South the Democrats' lead over the Republicans is reduced to a modest edge: 168 to 152. in the House, 36 to 34 in the Senate.

Even that majority is illusory since on many issues Northern and Western Democrats have no rallying standard. If there can be said to be a clearcut winner in this election it is the champ who wins most Congressional elections—the South. Southern politicians ran both houses of the last Congress and will continue to run them. Southerners will head nine of the 16 powerful standing committees of the next Senate and 12 of the 19 House committees. They do this because the "automatic" elections in the South tend to return the same legislators year after year allowing them to pile up seniority which determines committee chairmanships.

THE WHEEL-HORSES: The Democratic legislators will be kept in line by the Texas wheel-horses, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson and House

(Continued on Page 4)

Herblock in Washington Post

THE INDEPENDENT CAMPAIGNS

Issues strong, votes weak

IN THE USUAL two-party clamor which attended last Tuesday's election, a small voice of reason was raised by independent and socialist candidates in seven states. Nowhere did they breach the Democratic and Republican monopoly on seats in Congress and the state legislatures; but in New York, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Washington they reached voters with a vital message. It called for peace, economic security, civil rights and liberties, and socialism.

Far from discouraged by the failure to win, widely scattered leftist groupings and individuals were estimating the still-incomplete returns and discussing next steps. Many of them were planning to take part in a national conference of independent socialists and organized socialists to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 28-30. The theme: "Where do we go from here?"

The main focus on Nov. 4 was New York's fledgling Independent-Socialist Party. Because of the late count on minority party ballots, the final I-SP vote was not available at GUARDIAN press time. In New York City, however, the tally was as follows:

John T. McManus, for Governor, 23,538
Corliss Lamont, for U.S. Senator, 37,992
Hugh N. Mulzac, for Comptroller, 27,096
Scott K. Gray, for Atty. Gen., 25,232.

BATTLE FOR THE BALLOT: Though the city totals would be boosted with the addition of up-state returns, the party would undoubtedly fall short of the 50,000 votes needed on its gubernatorial line to hold its place on the ballot.

That place had been won in an intense campaign which resulted in close to 27,000 signatures to I-SP nominating petitions. All of the state's 62 counties were canvassed, and many re-canvassed, to secure a fool-proof minimum of 50 signatures in each and a state-wide minimum of 12,000 as required by law.

The canvassing job proved to be only

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AN ELECTION REPORT TO READERS

Lone Vermonter points the way, but who follows?

IN ROCK-RIBBED REPUBLICAN Vermont, the state's only seat in the House of Representatives was won by a Democrat for the first time in 108 years. The winner, a 43-year-old, transplanted Pennsylvania Dutchman named William H. Meyer, defeated a former Republican governor of Vermont with almost no campaign funds, but with a single campaign leaflet that was dynamite.

He called for a "calculated risk" for peace: Halt nuclear bomb tests and the manufacture of atomic weapons; abolish the peacetime draft; stop trying to ignore the existence of mainland China; seek a middle way of reason and negotiation with other nations, rather than thinking in terms of retaliation.

On taxes, he pointed to the expenditure of 80c of every dollar of Federal funds on military uses, demanded an end to inflated military budgets and called for closing the rich man's tax loopholes, and higher exemptions for the ordinary taxpayer.

He offered a farm program which amounts to a national planned agriculture, called for extended social security with provisions for unusual health and medical emergencies for pensioners; and unemployment insurance increases based on dependents.

He campaigned for full civil rights and liberties for all; for a basic education for all, with public funds for advanced training and no interference from the military. And in Congress he promised to fight against government advantages to big business.

ELSEWHERE IN AMERICA, voters seemed to have a good idea who and what they were voting against, but no clear idea what they were voting for, in replacing Republicans with Democrats. Though the Democrats shied violently from the White House

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Danger in Germany

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It seems to me that the GUARDIAN has done as much as any paper in the U.S. to explain what is going on in Germany. Yet I feel that it is inadequate. Here we feel the Nazis breathing down our necks—and this time the U.S. is giving them "Honest Johns" to whet their appetite for conquest. How can we get this problem over to an American citizen whose main worry may be what kind of a motorboat to buy? How can a people be so resolute and intelligent on a strike issue, for example, and yet insist on yachting while Dulles contaminates the water!

People here realize that Dulles shifts his points of tension from one spot to another to suit his needs—but Germany remains his chief reserve of trouble.

George Wheeler

Obvious to a child

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Glad to see you state in print that the GUARDIAN is a pro-socialist paper. With both parties dedicated to the same system now dependent upon a deficit spending war economy, it becomes obvious to a child that we badly need democratic socialism.

The American people will lose their fear of the word socialism when they are informed that every economy must be planned or we end up in our present chaotic condition.

Art Walker

Labor and politics

LITTLE NECK, N.Y.

In political matters the working class starts to be right in its political activities only at the time in history when it starts to fight for socialism—and not just any kind of socialism, only scientific socialism.

J. J. Sternbach

360 viewpoints

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The American radicals are in the same position as the Russians were before the Bolsheviks took over. An American writer who witnessed the confusion reported at that time: In front of the St. Petersburg Winter Palace, the immense public square day and night was crowded with Russians debating what form of government they should adopt after the czar was overthrown. He says there are 360 degrees in a circle and there were more than 360 different viewpoints in the square.

We here in the U.S.A. have a similar dilemma. Here we have Social Credit, Technocracy, the Townsend Plan, the Holdridge Plan, the Ham & Egg, Share the Wealth, Mankind United, the Epic Plan, the Utopian Society, the Greenback monetary parties, Christian movements for social justice and brotherhood. We have several socialist parties, the Syndicalist, the Anarchist movement with its seven different schools. We have the AFL, the CIO, IWW and many more.

H. Lellep

> ### *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*
>
> More than 1,200 parochial students of St. Jude's Catholic Church, St. Petersburg, were forbidden to collect for the UN's child relief program during last night's Halloween drive because of charges the fund is Communist affiliated.
>
> St. Petersburg **Times, 11/1**
>
> One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mrs. H. M., Pasadena, Calif.

Fill the vacuum

NEW YORK, N.Y.

About 75,000,000 people are qualified to vote in the United States. Yet only about 48,000,000 go to the polls on Election Day. This is a clear indication that half of the people have lost their faith and are disgusted with both the Republican and Democratic Parties.

A vacuum has been created. A powerful and forthright People's Party can fill in, if and when the people will so desire it.

Harry Fries

And welcome, too

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am a Stevenson-Roosevelt liberal. I am renewing my sub to the GUARDIAN so that we might have some semblance of a free press. It will at least represent the liberal view.

F. W. Neill

Attention, Detroiters

DETROIT, MICH.

I am trying to interest Detroiters in the coming independent socialist conference to be held in Cleveland over the Thanksgiving weekend. A number of us from this area are planning to attend the conference but we would like to encourage still others to participate. If any readers in the vicinity of Detroit would like to attend or get any information about the conference, hotel arrangements, transportation, etc., I ask that they contact me at 692 W. Forest, Detroit 1, Mich., Te 3-8136.

Robert Himmel

Wall St. first

VISTA, CALIF.

Enclosing one dollar. Cannot sell the place because everyone wants to sell also, so all farmers go first, Wall Street last.

William LaRue

ABC of socialism

BALTIMORE, MD.

I do not know what the reading composition of the GUARDIAN is, but I should guess that a goodly number are young people of relatively recent interest in socialism. With these people in mind I would like to suggest a pamphlet which has recently been reprinted by Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y.C. 14. It is called **The A.B.C. of Socialism** and its price is 50c, less for bundle orders.

The A.B.C. of Socialism is a concisely packaged question-and-answer booklet, discussing capitalism vs. socialism. I have found occasion to re-read it many times and whoever I loaned it to was very pleased with its contents. It has been out of print for five years, and I have really felt myself handicapped in my efforts to educate others to socialism. Now that it has been re-printed, it deserves the widest possible circulation to new and prospective socialists.

A. Robert Kaufman

High-flying moochers

CHICAGO, ILL.

I can remember back 40 years, and I would say the average family lived better in those days than now. Not so many gadgets but we had real butter on the table and steak two or three times a week, or pork chops, and pot-roast on Sunday. With today's prices who can afford hamburger? Verily the income tax is taking the food off the family table.

The worst part of it is that one fourth of our tax goes to the Air Force and another large portion goes to such moochers as King Saud with his 200 Cadillacs and wives and concubines.

R. L. Martel

London Daily Express

Changing China

JALISCO, MEX.

History holds no parallel for the speed of change in China today. Never before has a country in one year increased its production of grain by 60%, cotton by 100%, iron ore by 150% and steel by 100%.

In the first ten days of September 110,000 small iron smelting furnaces were completed and brought into production, bringing the total of new furnaces for the year to 350,000. The building during the year of one or more new industrial plants, large or small, in every county in China and the training of tens of millions of peasants as part-time industrial workers, thus eliminating the distinction between farmers and workers, are social changes of truly revolutionary magnitude.

To keep up with the extraordinary advance of a quarter of the people in the world, I recommend subscribing to **Peking Review**, $5 a year, from Imported Products & Publications, 4 W. 16 St., New York 11, N.Y. This weekly comes by air and makes available within a few days of its publication in Peking the industrial, social and political news of China.

Hugh Hardyman

For Helen Mallery

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

Enclosed find $25 which was collected at a gathering of friends to honor the memory of Miss Helen Mallery, who died in Guadalajara, Mexico, Aug. 14.

Knowing that Helen had friends everywhere, we hope that we can reach through this channel all her close associates with this sad message.

Her circle of friends is extensive. The many struggles she took part in made her well known. She was in the vigorous protest to save Sacco and Vanzetti—and since—and before this tragic case up to the time of her death, she took part in every progressive movement.

Accept this sum for your worthy work. We, her friends know that this kind of memorial would be to her liking.

Her friends in Albuquerque

Ten years ago in the Guardian

ELEVEN DAYS AFTER his triumph, President Truman gave notice to the little people that, so far as he was concerned, they could just go on dreaming about peace. In his balmy retreat at Key West, Truman applauded George C. Marshall's record as Secretary of State, scoffed at Stalin's desire for peace talks, and refused to discuss a settlement of the Berlin dispute until Russia ate humble pie by lifting the blockade. As a clincher, he revived one of Dewey's favorite corpses, appointing John Foster Dulles as acting chief of the American UN delegation.

—National Guardian, Nov. 23, 1948

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REPORT TO READERS

On the elections

(Continued from Page 1)

charges of "radicalism," the voters obviously approved the idea and voted for it. Nowhere but in Vermont did the Democrats seem a peace party, yet the anti-Republican landslide was undoubtedly a rejection of Dulles brinkmanship. The Democrats were limp and unpromising on civil rights, yet a result of the election in the Senate may spell the end of the filibuster rule which has enabled Dixiecrats to talk civil rights measures to death in years past. Labor rallied with immense political efforts where right-to-work laws threatened union security, and in the process sent reactionaries like Knowland and Bricker to political limbo. Yet the man who emerges from the 1958 campaigns as the likeliest Democratic candidate for President is Senator Kennedy from Massachusetts, an active partner in the McClellan inquisition against labor.

The N.Y. **Times** commented that "so massive a victory implies a commensurate responsibility for good government" and pointed out that the Democratic legislative leaders "have now been saddled with an obligation for the nation's welfare not much less emphatic than that of the President." Yet the pressures on the Democratic Party to measure up to the welfare objectives implied in the terms "radical," "leftward" and "liberal," so liberally used in current election analyses, are almost wholly wanting now and will take considerably more stimulating than the labor movement of the country, for example, seems prepared to apply. Certainly there is not, at present, the kind of liberal pressure which could cause the Democratic Party to force its Dixiecrat rump into a third party move in 1960, as some commentators have suggested.

IN NEW YORK rank-and-file labor did what its leadership dared not, dumping the N.Y. City Tammany machine and its Albany and Buffalo counterparts which had taken labor's vote for granted. In effect, the rank and file rebuked leadership which had uncritically supported the Democratic-Liberal coalition in the face of repeated rebuffs on candidacies and issues and has steadfastly opposed an independent political role by labor.

That labor's rebuke to the Democratic machine and its own supine leadership expressed itself in support for a scion of one of the world's biggest financial empires, was in itself a result of the stagnation of the N.Y. labor movement, since the labor-backed Democratic alternative was the head of another financial empire just as firmly opposed to labor's long-term interests.

On the record, Nelson Rockefeller promised things the labor-backed Democrats dared not assure, such as continued rent control, expanded pensions and old age welfare and no further increase in N.Y. City's 15c transit fares. He now must face a Republican legislature, no more likely to yield to a Rockefeller than to a Harriman.

If in any minds there intruded the concern that Rockefeller, through the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Reports, stands for a ten-year program of lifting the present military budget from $46 to $80 billion and finances the "limited nuclear war" fantasies of Prof. Henry A. Kissinger, such misgivings were undoubtedly offset by the fact that Harriman was a leading Cold Warrior.

NEW YORK VOTERS had a peace alternative to the machine candidates on the voting machines—the new Independent-Socialist Party—but many never knew of this alternative until they entered the voting booth. The new party's phenomenal success in forcing its way to the ballot by petition, opposed through the highest state courts by Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio, went all but unnoticed in the press. Only in two instances in Buffalo were the candidates enabled to present their program directly to labor. Ancient Left antagonisms brought the new party under attack by the old Socialist and Communist leaderships and press, although it won scattered rank and file support from those quarters.

The Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator, Corliss Lamont, seemed headed for some 50,000 votes when upstate returns were reported, with a possible 35,000 votes for the state ticket headed by John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN. The new party intended to stay in business to continue to introduce issues such as peace and socialist advocacy in the state political argument; and to continue to seek socialist unity for independent-political action.

It had three proud feathers in its cap: (1) a smashing victory over Tammany in its petition fight; (2) the introduction of meaningful issues as widely as possible in an otherwise no-issues contest between two millionaire-led political machines; and (3) beginnings of socialist unity in New York. Respect was growing apace for these plucky, principled campaigners for peace, jobs, rights and social change.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE KNOWLAND-NIXON FIASCO

The question in California: What did the voters win?

By David Harris
Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA VOTERS gave the Democratic Party a resounding victory Nov. 4—but how much the voters themselves will win remains to be seen.

It is obvious even at this early date that if all the determination labor showed in trouncing Sen. William Knowland and the right-to-work initiative is allowed to vanish in thin air, then popular hopes for a real change will also disappear.

The new Governor, Edmund G. Brown, won by a majority of more than a million, and he will go to the State capital in January with something the last Democratic governor—Culbert L. Olson — didn't have, a Democratic majority in both houses of the legislature.

DIRTY CAMPAIGN: Also elected by vast majorities were a Democratic Senator, Clair Engle, and a Democratic Attorney General, Stanley Mosk. And the voters, smashing all non-presidential year records by casting more than five million ballots, defeated right-to-work five to three, although straw votes in April showed the compulsory open shop measure had a decided edge.

It had been a dirty campaign, and both Knowland and the defeated Republican candidate for Attorney General, Patrick Hillings, a protege of Vice-President Nixon, reverted to McCarthyism for their strategy.

The easily-foreseen debacle of the Republican party led many of its usual supporters to jump ship early in the campaign and clamber aboard the stouter Democratic decks. They now hope to take the helm.

ALL THINGS TO ALL: The Hearst papers supported Brown, and a post-election article by one of their political columnists, Jack S. McDowell, says:

" . . . it has been apparent for a long period that Brown is anxious to become a new Earl Warren. His election shows that he has strong support from both parties and he wants to hold it. . . . There may be liberal legislation in the offing but when it gets into big money, it's unlikely that the dreamboat folks can get by the old pros of the legislature who, at the moment, surround the new Governor-elect."

Another Republican columnist pointed out that during the campaign Brown was considered a "conservative" by the "conservatives" and a "liberal" by the "liberals."

And Brown, since his victory, has confined himself largely to smiles and the repetition of such cliches as "time for all of us to pull together" and "I shall seek to provide unifying and vigorous leadership."

THINGS TO COME: Brown has announced that he will present to the legislature his 23-point program for "policing of labor unions" which he had used in his campaign as an alternative to right-to-work, which he opposed.

Also Senator-elect Engle will take his seat convinced that "beefing up the military" is one of his most important legislative tasks.

Among important forces at work are the 1.6 million organized unionists of the State who were stirred to unprecedented political activity by the fight against right-to-work. Labor's campaigning was largely independent of the Democratic Party—and also highly successful. The question now is whether this political energy and skill can be maintained.

CONTINUED EFFORT: State labor leaders will hold a convention next month to map the unions' program for the 1959 session of the legislature. Among the provisions expected are several for increased assistance to the unemployed and disabled.

Other good legislation, including a fair employment law with teeth in it and a measure for state health insurance, already are advocated in the platform of the State Democratic Party.

The recent success at the polls will not be enough to make them law. Only a continued popular effort can do so.

BUT WHERE WAS EVERYBODY?
Ex-Senator Knowland at work

GOP BLAMED

Unemployment was top issue in Michigan

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

THE BELIEF that the Republicans were more responsible for the recession than the Democrats, or less inclined to combat it, gave the Michigan Democrats substantial gains in the Nov. 4 election. But their gains fell short of a landslide.

Unemployment remained the top issue throughout the campaign. Two days before the vote, the Detroit Free Press reported that, thanks to automation, "it is estimated that more than 150,000 of the state's current total of 420,000 jobless are 'permanently' unemployed. Even in good times, there will be no jobs for them."

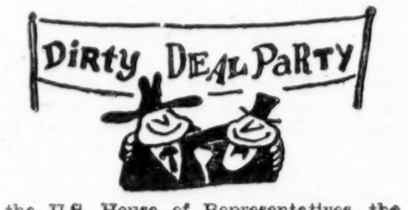
The chief Democratic slogan was: "End Republican Hard Times." The Republicans, accusing the Democratic-labor coalition of creating an atmosphere that was driving industry out of the state, said they would "Bring Jobs Back to Michigan." Neither party could detect any defect in the economic system itself.

The big point of one Democratic congressman's campaign was that the Republicans had voted to extend unemployment compensation for only 13 weeks while his party favored a 16-week extension. This came pretty close to summing up the differences between them.

FAIL IN LEGISLATURE: Gov. G. Mennen Williams defeated Republican Paul D. Bagwell to win his bid for a sixth term, but with a smaller plurality than in 1954 and 1956. The Democratic hold on other state offices was also retained.

Philip A. Hart won the U.S. Senate seat from Republican Charles E. Potter, the first time in a century the Democrats have both Senate seats. Hart and Potter found it hard to explain where they differed on foreign policy. Both came out strongly against recognizing China. As U.S. Attorney, Hart began his political career by indicting six members of the Communist Party under the Smith Act. He had the endorsement of the conservative Detroit News as well as the unions.

The GOP also lost one of its seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, the score now being 11 Republicans and 7 Democrats.



The Democrats had hoped to win the lower house of the state legislature, but didn't quite make it; they picked up 6 seats to achieve a 55-55 tie. The Republicans kept control of the state senate, 22 to 12, a gain of one for the Democrats.

BICEP STRATEGY: It wasn't an inspiring campaign. The vast majority of workers and Negroes voted Democratic, but without much display of enthusiasm. The Democrats lost a little ground in Wayne County. Potter's attacks on "union boss domination" fell flat.

By winning re-election, Williams kept alive his hopes of the presidential nomination for 1960. His assets for that post are just two: (1) the endorsement of the UAW leadership, and (2) his surpassing mastery of the handshake, as Rockefeller in New York seems to have noticed. He spent most of the last three months pumping hands from sunup to past midnight. His type of campaigning led Will Muller to note in the Detroit News:

"The most effective speech in the 1958 campaign is: 'Hi, there? How are you?' . . . A father, wondering if his son ever would become president, would feel the lad's biceps instead of reading his report card."

AMENDMENTS BURIED IN FIVE STATES

Labor used its power on right-to-work law

LABOR'S POWER at the polls when it has a cause to fight for was dramatically proved in the crushing defeat handed to proposed "right-to-work" laws in five states. The proposals would have banned any form of the union shop, would have undermined union security and signalled the return of the company union.

Before the elections 18 states had adopted such legislation but almost all were in largely rural states, many of them in the South. This year "right-to-work" backers had sought to invade industrial areas, particularly California and Ohio. They were overwhelmingly defeated there and in Washington, Idaho and Colorado. Only in conservative rural Kansas did the right-to-work law pass.

Against a heavily financed campaign by industrialists and chambers of commerce labor mounted its own vigorous offensive and brought out a record turnout. These were the results:

	Against	For
California	3,060,000	1,800,000
Ohio	2,007,000	1,080,200
Idaho	121,700	116,700
Washington	567,700	311,000
Colorado	315,700	200,000
Kansas	264,200	340,700

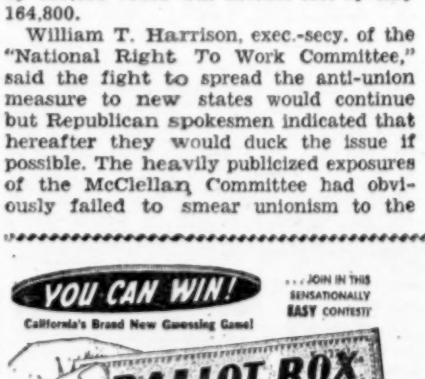
STOLE THE SHOW: In almost all cases the record labor turn-out hurt the Republican candidates but in Idaho the voters re-elected Republican Gov. Robert E. Smylie while they turned down the R-T-W. And in Kansas they voted for R-T-W but re-elected Democratic Gov. George Docking. Neither Smylie nor Docking had taken a firm stand on the proposal, thus avoiding the fatal commitment of Knowland in California and Bricker in Ohio.

In every state where R-T-W was an issue it stole the show from the candidates and the landslide was greater than the one that buried the individual candidate. For example, in Ohio R-T-W lost by 926,800 votes but Bricker lost by only 164,800.

William T. Harrison, exec.-secy. of the "National Right To Work Committee," said the fight to spread the anti-union measure to new states would continue but Republican spokesmen indicated that hereafter they would duck the issue if possible. The heavily publicized exposures of the McClellan Committee had obviously failed to smear unionism to the point where it was safe to be outspokenly anti-labor.

THE VILLAIN: An unnamed industrialist told the **Wall St. Journal:** "Right-to-Work has been type-cast as a villain in the public mind. I don't think we'll ever change the public's image of the law. It's too emotional."

Labor circles jubilantly talked of pressuring the new Democratic majorities in Congress to legislate nationally against R-T-W which is made possible by an enabling clause, section 14B, in the Taft-Hartley Law. Efforts to repeal 14B would face tough sledding, however, since the Southern Democrats are among the most articulate backers of R-T-W. On that issue as on others the statistical strength of the Democrats in Congress is illusory.



CONTEST FANS UNITE

Labor licked Proposition 18, the "Right-To-Work" law, in California by a campaign both slick and principled. Among the gimmicks was the "Ballot Box Bonus" contest sponsored by the Citizens Committee Against Proposition 18. Entrants had to submit their prediction of the number of votes by which Proposition 18 would be defeated. They could submit as many guesses as they liked but then they had to vote. Precinct records would be checked, the handbills warned, to make sure that all winners had voted. It stood to reason that any contest fan would vote and bring his neighbors along to bear out his prediction. Twenty prizes were offered, including the grand prize of $5,000 cash, all-expenses-paid vacation for two in Honolulu, Mexico City or Las Vegas, "a smart luxuriously beautiful mink stole," portable TV-sets and transistor radios. No matter who gets the prize the biggest winner was Labor.

ROCKWELL KENT ADDRESSES WIND-UP RALLY OF I-SP
Candidates McManus and Lamont are at table to the right

Big vote for witch-hunt foe

THOUGH IRVING GLASBAND, Democratic candidate for Congress from Los Angeles' 22nd District, lost to Republican incumbent Joe Holt, his supporters were encouraged by his showing. Glasband polled 69,300 votes to Holt's 79,671. Glasband's campaign focused on his demand for the preservation of civil liberties and abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Progressives and independents who supported Glasband pointed out that in 1956 their candidate lost to Holt by a margin of better than two-to-one. This year's campaign showed, they said, that a congressional candidate who takes a firm stand on civil liberties "can receive significant political support."

In Northern California, Clement W. Miller, Democratic candidate in the 1st District, won election on the basis of a progressive stand on civil liberties and foreign policy questions.

Independent ballot

(Continued from Page 1)

the prelude to a protracted struggle in the courts. For weeks the party campaign was stalled while its lawyers fought challenges to the petitions brought by Tammany Hall Boss Carmine G. DeSapio, New York Secretary of State. Not until Oct. 24 was DeSapio finally defeated in the N.Y. Court of Appeals. Ten days were left to campaign.

BASIS FOR BUILDING: The campaign was conducted largely by mailings, TV and radio. The candidates took two swings upstate to Buffalo, Syracuse and Albany. Throughout the campaign the party machinery was limited to a modest New York headquarters, one full-time administrator and a crew of volunteers. McManus estimated that campaign expenses were "probably not in excess of $15,000."

The candidate for Governor pointed to the significance of the fact that the vote for all candidates would exceed the number of people who signed nominating petitions. This was exceptional, he said, because minority parties are usually able to count at the ballot box only a fraction of those who support their right to run. He felt that the I-SP vote proved there is a substantial core of New York voters ready to support independent and socialist alternatives to the old parties. The problem, he said, is how to build on this solid group.

This problem on the national level will be at the center of discussion in Cleveland later this month. Sponsors of the conference of socialists include: Elmer A. Benson, former governor of Minnesota; Vincent Hallinan of California, 1952 Progressive Party presidential candidate; Harvey O'Connor, author, of Little Compton, R.I.; Dr. Holland Roberts of San Francisco, who recently polled 400,000 votes as a candidate for California Superintendent of Education; Sam Pollock, a leader of the Amalgamated Meatcutters union; Rev. Joseph P. King, united socialist candidate for Congress in Chicago's 2nd district; and New York's John T. McManus and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac.

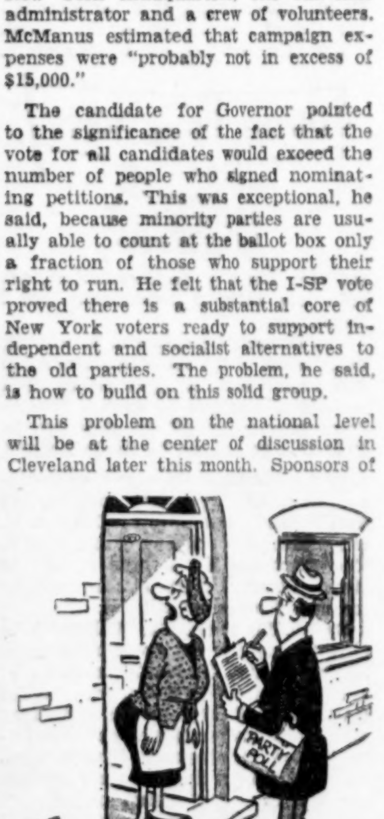
GROWING CONFIDENCE: Eric J. Reinthaler, veteran unionist and Cleveland Taft-Hartley law defendant, is serving as conference secretary from headquarters at 177 East 316 St., Willowick, Ohio.

Conference sponsors explained that the recent rise of radical political activity stems from the "growing confidence that socialist ideas represent a valid and effective answer to our most pressing problems; that socialism in America can win its rightful place in the market place of ideas; and, that socialists can develop effective electoral and political action."

Invitations have been sent to a number of organizations and roughly 3,500 individuals. Among the party organizations invited are the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

The minority vote

Late counts made it impossible to carry a full report on the vote of the minority parties in this week's issue. We will report on these campaigns next week.



London Daily Mirror
"Andy! Who will I be votin' for next time?"

Democratic sweep

(Continued from Page 1)

Speaker Sam Rayburn, who last week quickly staked out a "program" that promised no clean sweep to match the election returns. The outlook, said Russell Baker of the N.Y. **Times**, was for "continued restraint."

The two Texans were specific on only one point, civil rights, which they said they would approach gingerly so as not to alienate the segregationist sentiment in the party. Johnson reportedly favors holding off all action until the Civil Rights Commission makes its recommendations. The Commission took an entire year in just thinking about how to start looking at the problem.

Nevertheless the Southerners will undoubtedly face a threat to their power in the large freshman class pouring into Washington. They will also miss many of their old Republican allies, the wheelhorses of the McCarthy era who thought Eisenhower a radical threat. The Old Guard is almost completely gone. Sens. Knowland (Calif.), Jenner (Ind.), Martin (Pa.) and Smith (N.J.) retired from the Senate before the election. The voters retired these others: Sens. Bricker (Ohio), Malone (Nev.), Barrett (Wyo.), Revercomb and Hoblitzell (both W.Va.), Potter (Mich.), Purtell (Conn.) and Watkins (Utah).

NEW FACES: The Republican legislative bloc for the first time will have a majority that is loosely called "modern" or Eisenhower-type. The Democrats will have some voices which may challenge the smooth workings of bi-partisanship.

Among these is William H. Meyer, the first Democratic Congressman from Vermont in 104 years (see editorial, p. 1). He beat former Gov. Harold J. Arthur for Vermont's only seat in the House.

Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota moved from the House to the Senate after unseating Republican Edward J. Thye. Another more significant shift from House to Senate is that of Stephen M. Young of Ohio who makes an auspicious entrance over the prone body of Sen. John W. Bricker, a GOP fixture and one of the last of the Taft school. On top of that triumph Young comes to the Senate fresh from the Cleveland Taft-Hartley trial in which he was a defense attorney.

Another measure of the distance traveled from Joe McCarthy's heyday is found in the return to office of Sen. William Proxmire who took McCarthy's seat in 1957 and last week became the first Democratic Senator ever to be re-elected in Wisconsin. His opponent Roland J. Steinle, still loyal to McCarthy's memory, refused to congratulate Proxmire and commented: "Reuther and Khrushchev won a great victory at the polls."

SOME LAPSES: Here and there moderation and liberalism stumbled. In Arkansas a "moderate" segregationist Rep. Brooks Hays, who tried to compromise the Little Rock crisis, was defeated by a Faubus-supported out-and-out segregationist, Dr. Dale Alford, who won on a write-in.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia rode his machine back into office but this time he had opposition. Though Byrd disdained to recognize her, Dr. Louise O. Wensel, who challenged the Byrd machine on its "massive resistance" to segregation, piled up an unprecedented opposition vote equal to one-third of the total. Dr. Wensel polled heavily in the cities where "massive resistance" had shut down the schools. She drew 42% of the total vote in Norfolk, 38% in Arlington and 37% in Charlottesville.

Those who sought the reasons for the national vote trend found them in a general dissatisfaction with the Republicans rather than a rallying to the Democrats.

Continued unemployment was a prime source of discontent that helped demolish the GOP, identified in many minds as the party of the depression. On this question the only appealing thing about the Democrats was that they were not Republicans. On that unquestionable fact they garnered large numbers of votes. Organized labor turned out in large numbers principally in those states where the "right-to-work" bills were up for a decision. While in the voting booth working men and women apparently took the opportunity to vote against those candidates who supported the bills.

A BILL OF GOODS: In the wake of the disaster GOP leaders were cursing those businessmen who had sold the party a bum bill of goods, convincing them that a strong "right-to-work" stand was good politics. That line cost William Henry Knowland of California his political career (see p. 3), retired Bricker and hurt every one who followed it except in Kansas.

Aside from the "right-to-work" bills, labor's rank-and-file took no great hand in most states, though their leaders consistently backed the Democrats. In some places, such as New York, labor seemed to have staked its future on the unlikely promises of a millionaire Republican.

In Michigan, another millionaire with labor-appeal, Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, won another term but saw his customary heavy margins badly diminished (see p. 3).

The policies of Ezra Benson haunted every GOP candidate in the farm areas and cost many their chances of election.

BROOM SHORTAGE: In addition there was the off-year custom of voting against the Administration, which is a mark of America's frustration. It was broken only once—by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1934. Even more than Presidential elections, off-year balloting is based on local issues or vague discontent rather than on program and platform.

To further complicate things for the Republicans, 21 of their Senate seats in very rough areas were to be filled, while the Democrats had only 13 vacancies, most of them in assured Democratic territory. The results were guaranteed by what columnist Joseph Alsop calls the Republican Party's "general preference for dreary old hacks," its selection of standard bearers from among "creatures that were making odd noises in the wall."

The voters made one thing plain: they were looking for a clean sweep amid a general shortage of new brooms.

Quo vadis — America?

TO THE MUSIC of all your waters faith had formed
The tone of freedom, while still a thousand rivers
Were unknown; on no more than its echo the virgin corn
Was grown and on its merit garnered to be shared.

So purely true, the melody sustained voyagers across
An untrailed land and long outlived the ocean's length.
Showing ancient nations the power of its chant,
While chorused in all languages to play unchanged;
And the song was followed by the listening men,
Who found the infant land turned aged and grey!
Its serenade of promise parodied by greed,
Torturing the ear of earth.

—A. M. Sterk

IKE'S COURSE STEMS FROM TRUMAN PROGRAM

Faint hope seen for foreign policy change

By Kumar Goshal

THE AMERICAN public on Nov. 4 face-lifted the Senate and the House by voting in a number of newer and younger entries. The "liberal" wing was regarded as having gained in strength in the Congress, and it was clear that those who voted for them hoped they would turn U.S. foreign policy away from the brink of war to which Secy. Dulles seems irresistibly drawn. But this was a faint hope.

Liberalism in the last decade and a half has been only skin-deep among politicians in Washington; the foreign policy of the post-World War II Democratic administrations was the parent of the present foreign policy. And few of the new members of the Congress actually campaigned in opposition to it.

The task of American foreign policy should be to find a way to live with the socialist world with minimum friction; to help eliminate weapons of destruction and war itself; to cooperate through an international agency for the rapid promotion of a modern economy among the majority of the world's population.

THE BAD SEED: Concretely, this would mean immediate recognition of China's rights; cessation of nuclear weapons tests and destruction of nuclear weapons already manufactured; a summit conference to resolve political divisions that breed tension, such as divided Germany, Korea and Vietnam; and economic aid to underdeveloped lands through the Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). In all these fields, however, the seeds of the Eisenhower Administration's present disastrous policy were planted when the Democrats were in power.

President Truman gave the order to drop the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; he launched the cold war and developed the H-bomb foreign policy to which he and the Democratic Party still cling. It was under a Democratic administration that the U.S. intervened in the Korean civil war and the late Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.) proposed dropping an atom bomb in Korea.

In 1949 Dean Acheson, then Secretary of State, did concede that Taiwan and the offshore islands belonged to China; but two years later he gave silent approval to Asst. Secy. of State Dean Rusk's statement committing the U.S. to the destruction of the Peking regime. Nor did he oppose Truman's throwing the protective mantle of the U.S. Seventh Fleet around Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan.

AH, SLEEP THAT KNITS UP THE RAVELED SLEEVE OF CARE
U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge casts a vote at the UN

THE ELABORATOR: Dulles, who had been taken in as a State Dept. adviser and a special emissary of Truman early in 1950, has only elaborated on the Truman-Acheson policies of "peace through strength" and "leading from positions of strength" by means of military alliances and the threat of "massive retaliation." He has carried forward the policy of "containment of communism" to "liberation" of the East European countries. Under Truman, there was no great liberal Democratic outcry against nuclear weapons, no great demand for letting the Koreans, Vietnamese and Germans settle their differences among themselves, no great eagerness to come to terms with socialism through top-level talks.

The rebuilding of the West German and the Japanese armies started under Truman, as did the extension of military aid to reactionary regimes in Greece, Turkey and other countries. In the field of non-military economic aid to underdeveloped countries, Truman in 1949 pulled out of his hat the "bold, new" Point Four program. But this, on the advice of a board headed by Nelson Rockefeller, turned out to be an attempt to pressure the Asian-African governments into granting special concessions to U.S. industrialists eager to help increase the production of and exploit the "73% of the strategic and critical [raw] materials we import."

WEAK VOICES TODAY: There was only one consistent voice of protest during the Truman Administration, that of the late Vito Marcantonio. Under the Eisenhower Administration, there have been a few more voices critical of U.S. foreign policy, but none of them so strong. Their protests have almost always been couched in generalities and presented in terms of situations that history had just passed by.

For example, the liberals' current demand for U.S. disengagement from the Chinese offshore islands would have been more appropriate in 1955; today the main issue revolves around the status of Taiwan itself, and Washington's right to interfere in the Chinese civil war in any form whatever.

How the liberal Democrats trail events was most glaringly represented by the stand taken by Adlai Stevenson, the leader of the Democratic Party's "liberal" wing, during the recent election campaign. After cautiously lifting a wet finger to test the direction of the political winds, Stevenson advocated evacuation of the offshore islands but supported the retention of U.S. control over Taiwan.

In economic aid, too, the liberals now call for unilateral American financial assistance to underdeveloped countries when these countries prefer aid through SUNFED to assure maximum freedom of choice of projects to be financed. The liberals are almost all silent on the question of Germans, Koreans and Vietnamese coming together on their own without outside interference. Only the issue of halting nuclear tests receives relatively unqualified—but not loud—liberal support.

QUICK TEST: The Constitution, of course, places foreign policy in the hands of the President and his Secretary of State. But a sizeable liberal bloc can exert considerable pressure on the Executive. The new members will have a chance to demonstrate their position when the forthcoming Congress faces the two immediate issues of U.S. interference in China's affairs and the cessation of nuclear tests.

In the immediate future, the behavior of liberal members of Congress will depend on a mobilized, articulate public opinion. In the long run, however, a fundamental, comprehensive change in U.S. foreign policy can come when Americans no longer feel that only a war economy—from which stems the various aspects of foreign policy—can assure them economic stability and security.

A SLAP AT DULLES

How they saw it abroad

WASHINGTON'S GLOBAL military, economic and political commitments made it inevitable that the world would keenly watch the Nov. 4 U.S. elections. By and large, reaction among allies, neutrals and rivals to the election results varied from a feeling of relief to cautious optimism.

Although the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy was not primarily a campaign issue, most of the press abroad attributed the Democratic victory to the voters' dissatisfaction with Secy. Dulles' brink-of-war tendencies and the President's weak leadership.

In London the **Daily Mail** said the results were "a repudiation of much of John Foster Dulles' brinkmanship," and a demonstration that "the American public is sick of the weak and vacillating calmness of President Eisenhower." The **Evening Standard** termed the results "a sharp defeat for the President's policies." The **Evening News** headlined its story: "It's a Landslide Against Ike."

NO CONFIDENCE: Paris-Presse, a popular afternoon French paper, told its readers in a banner headline: "America No Longer Believes in Ike." The conservative **Le Monde**, however, interpreted the results as more a personal defeat for Vice President Nixon than for the President because Nixon had played a far more active role in and had set the tone of the Republican campaign.

In Copenhagen, the independent paper **Information** said the election results were "a strong vote of no confidence in President Eisenhower;" it found the reasons "in the foreign policy of Secy. Dulles and America's defeat in the international Sputnik race." Swiss newspapers played up the Democratic victories but did pointedly note the victory of Arkansas Governor Faubus.

The Italian press described the Democratic successes as "Clamorous" and "Landslide Victories." Cairo newspapers attributed Republican defeat to Dulles' brink-of-war policy.

'DIFFUSED DISCONTENT': Some newspapers abroad attributed the Democratic victory to the general discontent of the electorate with Republican domestic and foreign policy rather than to any clear-cut Democratic policy; some even wondered if the Democrats had yet evolved a policy.

The British **Manchester Guardian** said: "A diffused discontent, rather than any acute sense of crisis, seems to have helped forward the tide that anyhow sets in against the party in office." However, it considered it "striking" that many liberal, pro-labor and internationalist-minded candidates "have won in several states regardless of party."

The London **Times** noted that the Democrats "are still not independent of" the Southern bloc and have "yet to answer the challenge of the racial problem." The **News Chronicle** said "the votes were cast in instinctive dissatisfaction with Eisenhower's leadership, against unemployment, against almost continual foreign crisis." It added:

"It may be the truest commentary on it all that while millions of Americans voted a massive protest against his administration, Ike played golf . . . But the votes which have put the Democrats in power have not been for an alternative Democratic policy—there is no such thing yet."

NIXON STAR DIMMING: Many papers were impressed by Nelson Rockefeller's victory, and thought his star was shining brighter while Nixon's was getting dimmer.

The socialist countries attributed the Democratic victory to American dissatisfaction with Republican foreign policy, hoped the election results would improve East-West relations. The Chinese news agency **Hsinhua** said the U.S. voters apparently "detested the domestic and foreign policy of the Republican government, particularly its foreign policy." It found in Sen. Knowland's defeat "the American people's rejection of the government's policy of hostility to the Chinese people."

ADN, the East German news agency, said Americans had voted against "the brink-of-war Eisenhower - Dulles policy." But the CP newspaper **Neues Deutschland** said the elections were meaningless because both the Republican and the Democratic parties represented "monopoly."

K. HOPES: The Moscow radio also believed that no matter which party won "power will still be concentrated in Wall Street." But the Soviet Tass news agency said the election results expressed "the electors" discontent with [Washington's] aggressive foreign policy and its reactionary internal policy."

At the traditional Kremlin party on Nov. 7, marking the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Soviet Premier Khrushchev expressed the hope that the Democratic victory would usher in an era of better U.S.-Soviet relations.

HOPES RISE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Negro vote shifts back to the Democrats

By Louis E. Burnham

NEGRO VOTERS in the Nov. 4 election cast their ballots in accordance with the national trend—only more so. After a brief shift to the Republicans in 1956, they returned to the Democratic column in landslide proportions. The results strengthened the hope that the up-coming 86th Congress would take new action to protect civil rights.

While the voters swept into office many candidates who proclaimed themselves friends of the Negro's progress, they balked at sending additional Negroes, themselves, to Congress and to most state legislatures. The four Negro members of Congress (Powell, N.Y.; Dawson, Ill.; Diggs, Mich., and Nix, Pa.) all swamped their Negro Liberal Party (N.Y.) and Republican opponents.

But in two predominantly-Negro districts where Negroes challenged white Democratic incumbents, they, too, were snowed under. James Roosevelt had no trouble winning from Crispus Wright in California's 25th C.D. And in Detroit's 15th C.D., Rep. John D. Dingell defeated his Negro challenger, Austin J. Curtis, former assistant of the late Dr. George Washington Carver, 38,652 to 10,853.

FEW EXCEPTIONS: Efforts to break through the lily-white state legislatures of the South failed as Negro Republican candidates went down to defeat in Memphis, Tenn., and Durham, N.C.

The exceptions were few and far between. As part of the Democratic sweep in Connecticut, led by Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff, a Negro candidate from Hartford won a seat in the state assembly; it was the first time that had happened in Connecticut history.

Another precedent-shattering contest resulted in the election of Woodford R. Porter, Negro mortician, to the Louisville, Ky., Board of Education. One of three persons elected among eight candidates, Porter's success was traceable to heavy single-shot voting in the Negro community and a sizeable vote in some predominantly white sections. In 22 precincts where the population is more than 80% Negro, Porter chalked up 3,162 votes against 401 for all seven of the other candidates combined. His campaign was sparked by the Louisville **Defender**, a Negro weekly, which recently ran a series of articles exposing School Supt. Omer Carmichael, whose synthetic integration of Louisville schools has won him wide national acclaim.

HOUSTON PRECEDENT: In Houston, Texas, Mrs. Charles E. White, 42-year-old former school teacher and mother of five children, became the first Negro "in recent memory" to win elective office. She defeated Dr. John K. Glen, a pediatrician, for a place on the seven-member school board. The vote: 35,256 to 28,861. Campaigning largely by radio and billboard ads, Mrs. White got 95% of the vote in Negro precincts and made a good showing in middle and upper class suburban areas.

The Houston school board has been for years a battleground between liberal and conservative factions. Mrs. White, who with one other liberal will face a majority of militant segregationists on the board, described her election as "a real victory for tolerance and good will." Though Houston schools have been ordered desegregated by a Federal court order, no date has been set for implementing the mandate.

There was little doubt but that the main factor influencing the Negro voter's choice of the Democrats was the economic issue. Unemployment still hits twice as hard in the Negro communities as it does in other working-class areas. The importance of bread-and-butter questions was seen in the Negro vote on the Republican-sponsored "right-to-work" amendments. While California defeated the measure by a 5-3 vote, the tally in 30 Los Angeles precincts with heavy Negro registration was 5-1. Similarly, in Cleveland's 10th, 11th, 12th and 17th wards Negroes voted against the Ohio amendment 3-1, while the statewide count was roughly 2-1. As one Negro worker put it, "What we need is not the right to stay out of unions, but the right to get in."

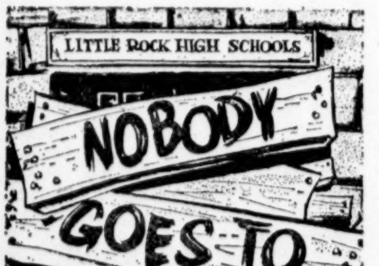
HIGH HOPES: The Negro's disillusionment with the Administration's weak policy on civil rights in face of militant Southern obstruction, was also a major factor in explaining his vote. In many instances the choice seemed less a vote of confidence in the Democrats than a means of taking a slap at a President who had snubbed 12,000 youth marchers for integration a week before.

Tapley in Amsterdam News
SUITORS OR LOSERS?

Roy Wilkins, NAACP exec. secy., viewed the election as a "triumph of liberalism and an affirmation of civil rights." Pointing out that such conservatives as Bricker, Malone, Jenner and Knowland will not be returning to the Senate, he said that "the chance of rejecting proposals to curb the Supreme Court may have been improved." He looked forward to the possibility of securing an effective anti-filibuster rule in the Senate at the opening of the 86th Congress. The civil rights leader felt such action would be more likely because of the presence in the Senate of such members as Harrison Williams of New Jersey, Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut and Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, all of whom established pro-civil rights reputations in the House.

DEMOCRATIC RIFT: Some Senators were already publicizing their determination to push for new civil rights laws. Paul H. Douglas of Illinois called the election "a national mandate . . . for an all-out civil rights program." Newly-elected Republican Kenneth Keating of New York took a two-day swing into Florida, Georgia and Alabama with his colleague, Jacob K. Javits. He then announced he would introduce an anti-bombing bill on the first day of the new Congress.

The coming battle over civil rights will spotlight again the rift within the Democratic Party. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas has already said he doesn't want any civil rights legislation on the floor until the Federal Civil Rights Commission makes its report in September, 1959. And other Southern democrats have renewed their vows to fight new measures to the bitter end. How this battle within the Democratic party is resolved will in large measure determine the party's stance before the voters in the 1960 presidential election, for which the Nov. 4 voting was a kind of prelude.



Dobbins in Boston Traveler
"We now have complete equality!"

THE ROCKEFELLER VICTORY IN NEW YORK

Charm plus 2 million bucks did the job

NEW YORKERS BEWILDERED trend spotters by turning out in unprecedentedly large numbers—for an off-year election—despite the admitted fact that almost no issue was at stake between the Republican and Democratic contenders. More than five and a half million people went to the polls and countered a nation-wide trend to elect a Republican millionaire governor, Nelson A. Rockefeller.

The cagiest commentators could find no better reason for this mass demonstration than Rockefeller's charm and a campaign fund estimated at $2,000,000. One observer said it reminded him of an election for Miss Rheingold.

Rockefeller beat the incumbent Averell Harriman, 3,117,864 to 2,560,802.

LONE DEMOCRAT: The Democratic gale that blew across the rest of the country barely touched New York but served to elect Arthur Levitt as controller, the only victorious Democrat on the state-wide slate. He beat James A. Lundy by 48,308 votes. The Democrats also gained slightly in the Legislature, winning three seats in the State Senate and four in the Assembly. The Republicans retained full control of both houses, however, 34-24 in the Senate, 92-58 in the Assembly.

New Yorkers broke more than the 1958 trend; they shattered a pattern built up since New Deal days. For the first time in decades predominantly Jewish, Puerto Rican, Negro and labor areas showed signs of breaking way from the Democratic Party. In five Jewish districts sampled by the N.Y. **Times**, Rockefeller polled 34% of the vote. Those same districts in 1954 gave the Republican contender Irving Ives only 24%.

A sampling of Puerto Rican districts showed that Rockefeller had taken 29% of the vote compared to 18% given Ives four years ago. The Negro vote showed a similar shift.

THE LABOR VOTE: Labor leaders unanimously endorsed Harriman, but many labor votes chose the Republican millionaire against the Democratic one. AFL-CIO President George Meany told a press conference that this "proves we don't control our members' votes." He seemed untroubled by the Republican threat although it clearly raised the specter of a Rockefeller in the White House. Meany said that Rockefeller and Harriman were "both wealthy, both liberal and both dedicated to public service." There were no great party issues between them, he added.

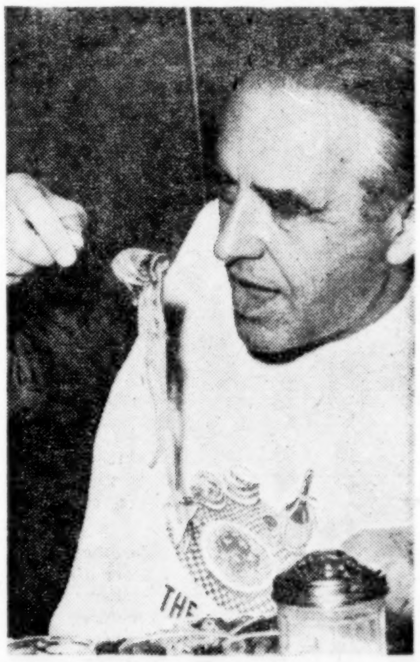
The New York City press also achieved unanimity before the polls closed. The traditionally liberal Democratic N.Y. **Post** had endorsed Harriman but in its Nov. 4 issue which hit the streets before the evening rush to the polls, it switched. Publisher Dorothy Schiff in a page-one statement urged readers not to vote for Harriman because of an alleged "snide insinuation" that Rockefeller was pro-Arab and anti-Israel. She called that a "libel" for which Harriman should be punished at the polls. Outraged Harriman supporters said that a franker statement would have referred to Mrs. Schiff's husband, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, co-chairman of "Democrats for Rockefeller."

Only after the election was it revealed that **Post** editor James Wechsler had opposed the switch. But even he thought it no calamity that "liberal" Rockefeller was elected. The **Post** switch was credited with the final blow that completed Harriman's defeat and put him out of the race for the Presidency.

TAMMANY IN CHAOS: The election left the New York Republican machine in the hands of the party's Eisenhower wing. It left the Democratic machine in chaos. Tammany chief Carmine DeSapio, who had risen to national prominence as the result of masterminding Harriman's election four years ago, was all but finished.

At the state convention DeSapio had forced Frank S. Hogan on the slate for Senator over Harriman's express disapproval. DeSapio forced Harriman to knuckle under and gave the Republicans an issue in "bossism." The voters buried Harriman, Hogan and DeSapio.

New York City's Mayor Wagner immediately indicated he might take the lead in running the party in the state. Levitt as the party winner this year promised to step in, too. In Albany Harriman reminded everyone that he was still the party's titular leader in New York but his voice seemed to come from the tomb and carried little weight among the politicians.



NEW YORK'S EATING CONTEST
Harriman woos the Italian vote

Alex Rose of the Liberal Party took credit for Levitt's lonesome victory and reminded Democratic leaders that they would need the Liberal Party's votes in 1960. The only Liberal Party candidate not on the Democratic ticket was Edward Goodell for Attorney General. He led the Liberal line with 279,688 votes. Rose warned that the Democrats had better not alienate their Liberal supporters by swinging too far to the right in choosing the next driver of the machine.

SOME FAVORITES WERE SCRATCHED ON NOV. 4

Line-up is changed for the 1960 steeplechase

THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL steeplechase took on a completely new look after the Nov. 4 hurdle. Hot entries Knowland and Harriman were spilled.

Badly defeated in their respective home states, neither would hold office or the public eye in the years before 1960. They would serve only as horrible examples of how not to win. In some ways Harriman's spill was worse because he had to overcome a nation-wide Democratic trend to lose this one.

Richard Nixon was still among the front-runners but he was running scared. He was no doubt relieved to see Knowland tumble but dismayed to find Rockefeller running neck-and-neck with him. His new rival is no spavined politician weighed down, as Knowland was, with baggage like Chiang Kai-shek.

THE THREAT: Rockefeller has unmistakeable speed and a capacity for overcoming tremendous handicaps, such as a Republican designation in a Democratic year. More significantly he demonstrated that a millionaire Republican with a name that was once anathema to labor could win labor and liberal votes with scarcely more than an engaging smile.

The Rockefeller threat seemed even more formidable when, immediately after election, he took off for his model farm near Caracas, Venezuela, scene of Nixon's dubious martyrdom. No one threw stones at him as, in excellent Spanish, he disassociated himself from Nixon. The expedition seemed to bear out the rumors that to win the Republican Presidential nomination in 1960 over Nixon's body would be doubly sweet to Rockefeller.

Democratic Digest
"Well, back into Hyding, said Dr. Jekyll."

KENNEDY TO FORE: The Democrats saw another millionaire, Michigan Gov. Mennen Williams, falter. Though he was elected to his sixth term in office his margin was drastically reduced from what it was two years ago. Most observers counted Williams out of the running. Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas seemed likely to be even more dominant than before in party affairs—but his Presidential ambitions were not enhanced by the results. Democratic victories in the North and West would not encourage the candidacy of a Southerner.

The Democratic hopeful who forged ahead this year was Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. He was re-elected with a precedent-shattering plurality of 850,000. He carried with him a whole slate of Democratic state candidates, and took the opportunity to campaign in other states, matching Rockefeller in glamorous good looks and youthful charm.

NOBODY RUNNING: Edmund (Pat) Brown, who swamped Knowland in the race for the Governor's seat in California, also became a possibility.

Both Kennedy and Brown work under what used to be considered a fatal drawback: both are Catholics. But 1958 seemed to bury the anti-Catholic prejudice of voters along with their traditional mistrust of millionaires. In addition to Kennedy and Brown these other Catholics won handsomely this year: Michael V. DiSalle for Governor of Ohio; David L. Lawrence for Governor of Pennsylvania; Eugene McCarthy, Senator from Minnesota, and Edmund S. Muskie, Senator from Maine.

All likely candidates have observed the ritual of denying that they are running.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT INSISTS ON INDEPENDENCE

Algerians see de Gaulle 'peace' as surrender

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

FRENCH JOURNALISTS, skeptical as to its acceptance, hardly batted an eye when Premier de Gaulle, at an Oct. 23 press conference, announced a limited peace offer to the leaders of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). De Gaulle said he would welcome FLN representatives and "guarantee them freedom to leave again" if they came to France to settle "the end of hostilities."

Two days later the Algerian Provisional Government gave its reply. It called de Gaulle's offer "a request for unconditional surrender," and said it had "decided to direct the fight until its end, that is, the independence of the country." On Nov. 1, at the United Nations, the Provisional Government's representative issued a "last appeal" to Fance to meet with Algerian leaders in some neutral country "for a settlement of the Algerian problem in its entirety."

A WIDE GULF: In an interview with **Le Monde**, Tunisia's President Habib Bourguiba explained in simple terms the reason why the Algerian leaders turned down de Gaulle's offer:

"It must be said that he [de Gaulle] practically suggested the surrender of the Algerian National Army of Liberation. The Algerian government has refused . . . The gulf is as yet too wide between the aspirations of the Algerian people and what France is ready to offer."

De Gaulle's offer seemed to have been made with respect for the adversary and in an effort not to hurt his sensitivity. But as an FLN spokesman said, "De Gaulle has addressed us as Frenchmen gone astray, not as Algerians." He added that once the solemnity of the words had worn off, what remained was the refusal to talk about anything but the purely military question of stopping the war.

It was clear that, if the FLN leaders came for peace talks, they would have no right to discuss the political conditions for peace, let alone Algeria's independence, or its right to independence. In fact, de Gaulle had merely reiterated in more elegant language the three-point formula (cease-fire, elections, negotiations) put forward by Guy Mollet two years ago. If they accepted these conditions, the FLN would be writing off four years of war and sacrifice, and several hundred thousand dead, as a pure loss. It would have meant abandoning the very reason for its fight—independence, or at least recognition of the right to independence.

THEY ARE NOT WEAK: Two factors expected to favor de Gaulle's peace move did not work out as anticipated:

- FLN leaders, as Ferhat Abbas, Premier of the Algerian Provisional Government, told **Le Monde** last February, considered de Gaulle as one of the few Frenchmen capable of restoring peace in Algeria. Today the FLN seems no longer willing to place unconditional confidence even in de Gaulle.
- The Algerians, according to the French press, are exhausted by four years of war. Only a few papers reported that more men wanted to fight in its army than the FLN could use, and it was not running short of weapons either. The truth probably lies somewhere in the middle. Some lassitude among the civilians, in the face of an unending war with no immediate results, would be understandable. But it would be equally understandable that in a country in chronic misery and with a million chronically unemployed, an army of liberation would not easily run short of manpower.

On the French side, peace proponents have found a powerful if discreet new adherent. One part of big business—the part that has started to, or is about to make large investments in Algerian oil prospecting and exploitation—is anxious to see a stable peace in Algeria. French economy, as a whole, ill equipped to enter the European market on Jan. 1, 1959, needs peace more urgently than ever before. These are some of the factors that may, in the near future, help to narrow the gap that still separates the FLN from the Paris government.

THE ELECTIONS: De Gaulle seems sincere about wanting peace in Algeria; he has to be. At the moment, his conditions are unacceptable to the adversary, just as his grandiose five-year economic aid to Algeria is impractical because it would ruin French economy or run it heavily into debt. But he will be obliged to offer better terms to bring peace to Algeria in order to improve French economy, invite foreign loans in a calmer political atmosphere and carve a niche for himself in French history.

But the situation will worsen unless he makes peace before the Algerian elections, scheduled for Nov. 28, 29 and 30, when the Moslem population is supposed to elect 46 deputies to the French Assembly.

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

Not a single representative Moslem Algerian has offered to run for office. Qualified Moslems say French army interference in the elections has already begun. When nominations closed on Nov. 9, the list of candidates comprised mainly die-hard French colonials demanding Algeria's integration with France and their Moslem "Beni-Oui-Oui's" (Yes Men). Some thoughtful groups urged postponement of the elections, arguing that voting would be meaningless before a cease-fire. De Gaulle turned down their request, apparently in the belief that postponement would be regarded as a victory for the FLN.

CASE OF BEN BELLA: De Gaulle has not helped matters by so far rejecting the Tunisian-Moroccan request for the release of the brilliant Algerian leader ben Bella. He and four other Algerian leaders were captured by the French during the regime of Guy Mollet in 1956. They were on their way to Morocco at the invitation of the Moroccan government. They are now on a hunger strike.

It may be wishful thinking, but Paris is thick with rumors of clandestine meetings between de Gaulle emissaries and FLN representatives somewhere on the French border. The conservative **Le Figaro** said mysteriously that "events might occur" to end the Algerians' hesitation to offer themselves "as candidates for the coming elections."

If these rumors turn out to be unfounded, the FLN position is likely to harden, and fruitful negotiations will become even more difficult.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"He's the image of his father."

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by Abraham Polonsky

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BOOKS

Poems and drawings of New York

A POET and twelve artists have combined their view of New York City in a single, handsome volume. All seem to see the city through a single facet. Whether this harmony stems from a happy combination of like minds or from dexterous editing, the harmony is there, tender and nostalgic, more harmonious than the city itself.

Another group might have had their eyes on the cheapness or the splendor of New York, their ears tuned to a jazzier beat. These are obviously compassionate artists who seek out people where they live and deal lovingly with them. Police courts, Times Square, Park Avenue, Radio City and Easter Parades are not in their vision of the city.

Aaron Kramer's lucid and feeling verses were written over a period of many years. So, too, were the drawings done at varying periods of the artists' lives. This may account for the reader's sensation that he is seing the city as it once was and noting that it really has not changed so much, after all.

BECAUSE THE POEMS and pictures were not created especially for this book, it forfeits a reportorial immediacy and gains a mellowed perspective. Not all the works in the book deal with aspects that are uniquely New York. Many deal with the lives of the poet or artist who created in the midst of the city. That may offer a richer insight into the city's life.

"The Minotaur" is a fair example. It is Kramer's poignant chronicle of a work-day, the kind of eventful day at the end of which a man goes home and tells his wife that nothing happened. Here, the rhythm of an uncreative job must beat familiarly for every man who punches a time clock. The poem may not cover all of a day's work but there are aspects which anyone would find a precise expression of his own experience and

Drawing by Hilde Weingarten in "The Tune of the Calliope"

therefore to be treasured. Whether or not it is also true of a work-day anywhere else does not matter. It is part of life in New York.

So it goes for Philip Reisman's spider-lined drawings of the butcher shop, Anthony Toney's panorama or the faces in the drawings by Saul Leshinsky, Alice Neel or Lou Harris. New Yorkers have seen them all in subways and will enjoy seeing them again.

—E.B.

**THE TUNE OF THE CALLIOPE, poems and drawings of New York. Poems by Aaron Kramer, drawings by Theodore Fried, Jean Hale, Louis Harris, Herbert Kruckman, Saul Leshinsky, Alice Neel, Philip Reisman, Joseph Solman, Edward Strickland, Estelle Tambak, Anthony Toney, Hilde Weingarten. Published by Thomas Yoseloff, 11 E. 36 St., N.Y. 107 pp. $7.50.*

On bawling and the arts

WILFRED BURCHETT'S DISPATCH from Moscow on the Pasternak-Zhivago controversy (p. 9) helps to place the affair in its proper frame and to allow some conclusions:

- It is clear that **Dr. Zhivago** would not have been published in the Soviet Union without basic revisions.

- The Soviet intelligentsia and, one assumes now, the Soviet people, regard the Nobel award to Pasternak as a political action, and it is indeed difficult for an aware person not to feel that it was so intended.

It is not for us to say how the Soviet literary authorities should determine whether a book should or should not be published. We have our ideas, and if they do not coincide with those of our Russian colleagues, perhaps we would have to experience a revolution of our own to understand their view more exactly. We have good reason, however, to believe that many Russians are as dismayed as we are by the violence of the campaign against Pasternak.

The book has not been published in the Soviet Union; therefore it can have no effect there. Would it not have been far wiser to have published the editors' criticism of the book at the time it was made? Even two years later the criticism might have been allowed to stand on its own reason rather than to be drowned in a sea of vituperation consigning Pasternak to the animal kingdom in various four-legged shapes, or as a snake without legs. The character of the language directed at Pasternak only enhances his own comments and leaves him alone with dignity. Even accepting the Novy Mir criticism, another course might have placed him in a more exact light as a sadly detached intellectual whom history has passed by.

INSPECTING OUR OWN BACKYARD, we find a hollowness in the indignant chorus of protest against the treatment of Pasternak by our own breed of intellectual and journalistic sycophants. We know them. We asked their help repeatedly when Cedric Belfrage was facing deportation for being the editor of a dissenting journal. We asked them not to speak out in defense of Belfrage but simply in defense of the freedom of the press. Their reply was icy silence. They remained silent when other American dissenters were threatened, and they will remain silent again. Their indignation is reserved for citizens of another system, and Pasternak for them is a device to vent their spleen on this system—not an object of their concern.

IN THE CROSSFIRE, a voice has been raised to which we might all listen with open mind. It is the voice of a man who has lived through the hope and tears of revolution himself and who can look on a life of work in the interest of creating happiness. In an article in the N.Y. **Times** of Nov. 9, Sean O'Casey writes:

SEAN O'CASEY
Up the artists!

"Political fellas in the United States, in the Soviet Union, in England and, especially, in Ireland—everywhere in fact—political fellas run out and shout down any new effort to give a more modern slant or a newer sign to any kind of artistic thought or imagination; menacing any unfamiliar thing appearing in picture, song, poem or play. They are fools, but they are menacing fools, and should be fought everywhere they shake a fist, be they priest, peasant, prime minister or proletarian. To discuss and argue about these things is fine and, if the discussion be sincere, can but lead to a wider knowledge of all things; but when hateful ignorance rushes out and tries to down the artist with a bawl, it is high time to cry a halt!"

—James Aronson

Letters on the Pasternak case

Boris Pasternak . . .

NYACK, N.Y.

Boris Pasternak's crime is that he was awarded the world's most coveted prize for a novel that would not clear the censor. For this he is now being pilloried. He has been expelled from the Soviet Writers Union and urged to leave his own country.

Are the friendly relations of American progressives towards the Soviet Union to continue on terms dictated by the Semichastnys? Are we to condone such an affront to the dignity of man? Sometimes the cause of friendship may best be served by saying: Friend, you are wrong and had better mend your ways.

Whatever may be our opinion of Pasternak's work and its political implications, our stand for the dignity of man is sullied if we acquiesce in the Soviets' attack on him. If we do not protest, our position is tantamount to saying that we are ready to pay any price to uphold the power of the U.S.S.R. no matter what it may do—just as so many off us did while innocent men were devoured by the behemoth of Stalinism.

The time to speak out is now, not at some future date when an official Soviet source condemns what is now done in its name.

William Robert Miller
Managing Editor, **Fellowship**

. . . and Charlie Chaplin

NEW YORK., N.Y.

While Pasternak makes the free world headlines, let us pause for a brief announcement on the case of Charlie Chaplin.

Chaplin was hounded out of the U.S., the country of his adoption, and warned never to come back. He has been called names worse than "pig" by almost our entire press and his films, past and present, have been banned from TV. With Chaplin in exile and defenseless, our government had clamped a tax suit on him, thus enabling our press to brand him a criminal.

F. L. H.

Hypocrisy

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Soviets' action against Boris Pasternak was senseless, inconsiderate and deeply deplorable. However, our cries of indignation about "ferocious pressure, the sickening evidence of oppression of freedom of thought and words, the ineradicable revelation of the enslavement of men's minds" (N.Y. **Journal-American**) sounds somewhat hypocritical, self-righteous and overbearing.

By the way, I would like to know the name of the Club which arranges trips to Canada to see the Chaplin film: "A King in New York." For some strange reason—of course, not connected with Soviet-like objection to criticism—it is not shown here in New York.

John H. Beck

Zhivago's theme

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Lawrence Emery's report on the Pasternak case (along with Elmer Bendiner's earlier review) fails to mention this important fact about his novel, **Dr. Zhivago**: that the theme is veined throughout with a deeply religious feeling — the universe is God's and we are all creatures of Him. Thus one critic's humanitarianism might be taken as another's organized Church. Pasternak is certainly entitled to his own view of life, and I have no wish to join in any attack upon him, but I think your readers should be aware of this point.

Eve Merriam

Timeless literature

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Your reporter on the Pasternak case attains an extraordinary degree of objectivity — no word of criticism for the shabby way in which the intellectuals of the Soviet Union have responded to the Pasternak award. Only demeaning of Pasternak because his ideals happen to be oriented to the 19th century, instead of the atom bomb, concentration camp century in which he happens to live.

Who believes that great literature is tied to any century? Great literary productions are timeless, and I venture the guess that Pasternak's work will outlive the hack products of Soviet writers who slavishly follow the political line.

The inability of the Soviet civilization to accept even the modest criticisms of the Pasternak book puts it beyond the pale of thoughtful people. There must be something desperately wrong with an order that continually places itself beyond criticism by its own people.

Clarence F. Avey

The GUARDIAN story (Nov. 10) reported fully on the reaction of the Soviet intellectuals as reported in the Soviet and world press. Editor.

Sacramento Bee
Composite picture of the Taiwan Strait crisis.

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Lancaster in London Express
"But honestly, Aunt Ethel, they can't elect Makarios Pope—he's on the wrong team."

Foreign Born parley in N.Y. Dec. 6-7

DEC. 6 & 7 have been set as the dates for the 26th Annual National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at the Hotel Belmont-Plaza, 49th St. at Lexington Av., New York.

Organizations and individuals are invited to participate in the Conference. Full details may be obtained from the American Committee, 49 East 21st St., N.Y.C., ORegon 4-5058.

MOSCOW: THE 5,000-WORD REJECTION SLIP

Exclusive: The Pasternak story

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

IN AN EARLIER ARTICLE on Boris Pasternak (GUARDIAN, Feb. 17, 1958), written in the glow of having spent an afternoon with him, I observed that he seemed to belong to the 19th century "salon revolutionaries" rather than to the realities of Soviet life in the mid-20th century. Almost everything that has been revealed since tends to confirm this impression—above all, of course, the book itself, which none of us five correspondents who visited him in his snow-covered dacha last December had read at that time. It appeared in English only many months later.

I have thought a lot about that afternoon since the sensation exploded over the Nobel Prize award. Pasternak seemed quite convinced then that **Dr. Zhivago,** which was clearly the main reason for the award, would be published in the Soviet Union. He gave us to understand it was only a matter of three or four pages that would have to be deleted and the book would be acceptable and publishable. He must have been under an illusion (his own or someone else's) in thinking the book would be published here. The long and detailed criticism of the work, sent to Pasternak by the editorial board of **Novy Mir** (New World) in September, 1956, 15 months prior to our visit, in returning his manuscript, seemed to make it quite clear that the book had no chance of publication.

"NON-ACCEPTANCE": The **Novy Mir** criticism is a most interesting document, far wiser and more balanced than the heated attacks made on Pasternak after his first acceptance of the Nobel Prize. It states in the beginning:

"The spirit of your novel is that of non-acceptance of the socialist revolution. The general tenor of your novel is that the October revolution, the Civil War and the social transformations involved did not give the people anything but suffering, and destroyed the Russian intelligentsia, physically or morally. The burden of the author's views on the past of our country and, above all, the first decade after the October Revolution (for it is by the end of this decade—except for the epilogue—that the novel ends), is that the October Revolution was a mistake, that the participation in it of sympathizers from among the intelligentsia was an irreparable calamity, and all that happened since was evil."

The editors then refer to Pasternak's earlier poems: "Year 1905," "Lieutenant Schmidt," "Second Birth," "Waves" and "Early Trains." They remark that after these poems, "imbued with a different spirit," reading the novel, **Dr. Zhivago,** "was a distressing experience."

THEY WERE SHOCKED: Pasternak is criticized for the fact that his central character, Dr. Zhivago, and a number of other secondary characters, members of the intelligentsia, supported the revolution as long as it was in the realm of ideas and to be discussed with fervor in the salons, but were shocked at the actuality of blood and dirt and hunger, which they, as individuals, could not avoid.

"Faced with an actual revolution instead of talk about a revolution," the criticism continues, "in which they would be mere by-standers, these 'truth-seeking individuals' whom the author originally presented as men of ideas, turn out to be, almost to a man, people who are far from having any desire to uphold any idea, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, let alone sacrifice their life for it. They continue to all appearance to lead a spiritual life, but their attitude towards the revolution and, primarily, their actions, become increasingly contingent on the measure of personal discomforts brought about by the revolution, such as hunger, cold, over-crowded living space, disruption of the cosy, well-fed pre-war existence they had become accustomed to.

"It is hard to name outright another work in which heroes with pretensions to higher spiritual values should, in the years of the greatest events, show such concern for and speak so much about food, potatoes, firewood and other comforts and discomforts of life as in your novel. Your heroes and, in the first place, Dr. Zhivago himself, spend the years of the revolution and civil war in search of relative well-being and tranquility, and this amid the vicissitudes of struggle, amid general devastation and ruin. They are not cowards, physically. You go out of your way, as author, to stress this. But, at the same time, their only goal is to preserve their own life and this is what guides them in all their main actions . . ."

5,000 WORDS: The editors of **Novy Mir** find Dr. Zhivago personifies "a definite type of Russian intellectual of the period, a man who loved and knew how to talk about the sufferings of the people but who could not cure those sufferings either in the proper or figurative sense of the word. It is the type of man bloated with a sense of his own self-importance, of his own self-value, a man far removed from the people and ready to betray them in time of difficulty, to divorce himself both of their sufferings and their cause."

There are 5,000 words of critical analysis in the **Novy Mir** letter of rejection—about 20 times as much as an author can usually reckon with. The language is sharp, but reasoned and dignified. The editors find in the book "quite a few first-rate pages, especially where you describe Russian nature with great realism and poetic power." But on the whole "your novel is profoundly unjust, historically prejudiced in the description of the Revolution, the Civil War and the post-revolutionary years; it is profoundly anti-democratic and alien to any conception of the interests of the people."

REJECTION SLIP: The letter went on: "Recalling that you have works to your record in which a great deal differs from what you have recently said, we want to remind you, in the words of your heroine, addressed to Dr. Zhivago: 'You have changed, you know. Before you judged the revolution not so sharply and without irritation.'

"But then," concludes the mammoth "rejection slip," with great finality, "the main thing is not irritation, of course, because after all is said and done, it is merely a concomitant of the ideas, long rejected, untenable and doomed to perdition. If you are able to think about it seriously, please do so. In spite of everything, we wish it very much. Enclosed is the manuscript of your novel **Dr. Zhivago.**"

(Signed:) B. Agapov, B. Lavrenyov, K. Fedin, K. Simonov, A. Krivitsky. (Members, Editorial Board, **Novy Mir**).

It was after this that Pasternak gave the manuscript to Feltrinelli of the Milan publishing house of the same name.

In his conversation with us Pasternak said he did this in the belief at that time that the work would be published in the Soviet Union. This seems as unlikely, in view of the **Novy Mir criticism,** as his statement that it was only a question of omitting "three or four pages."

A POLITICAL ACT: Why the **Novy Mir** criticism was not published at the time it was made—or at the latest when the book was first published abroad is one of the things that baffle a foreigner living here. It would have done much to clear the air all around. As events evolved, it was thrown in, in a blaze of anger, decorated with violent denunciations of Pasternak after the Nobel award.

As for the prize itself, it was seen here as a purely political act, in view of the fact that there have been plenty of worthy Russian contenders, from Tolstoy to Sholokhov, passed by in their time in favor of emigre writer Ivan Bunin (1933) and now Pasternak whose **Dr. Zhivago** is regarded as assailing the very foundations on which Soviet society is built. The award, in the Soviet view, served notice that, as far as the Swedish Academy is concerned, Soviet literature does not exist and the Academy is willing to encourage any writer who gives literary coloring to the idea that Soviet society should not exist either. It is difficult to see what other interpretation could have been expected from within the Soviet Union. In any case, that is how it looks to Soviet intellectuals with whom I have spoken.

THIS IS THE PICTURE: The rage against Pasternak is partly directed against the Swedish Academy. The latter is not at hand; Pasternak is. But some of the rage also is from a public which has been in blissful ignorance even of the fact that Pasternak had written such a book. Now they are suddenly presented with the situation that they have been, so to speak, nursing a viper in their bosom—a writer who has seemed to accept the Revolution and turns out to have nursed a 40-year grievance against it. This grievance blossoms forth in a book which is hailed as a masterpiece abroad and its author given the world's leading literary prize.

That is the picture which is presented to the Soviet public.

THE FACE OF WAR

Several readers have written asking where they might get postcards with Hans Erni's drawing (above). The Swiss peace movement has a small supply left. They cost 10c each. Write to M. Armond Magnin, 1 Place du Temple, Carouge-Geneva, Switzerland. No reprinting of the card can be undertaken for orders less than 1,000. There are no posters avialable.

Eccles in London Worker

"I think we can help exorcising the Devil; but I'm not sure we can do anything about your landlord!"

U.S.-U.S.S.R. fete in N. Y. Nov. 14

A CAPACITY CROWD is expected in Carnegie Hall on Friday evening, Nov. 14, to observe the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The occasion will also mark the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Soviet state. This annual event, held in New York City for 17 consecutive years, is under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Artist Rockwell Kent, the Council's national chairman, just back from the Soviet Union, will speak of his trip and of interviews with Soviet leaders in art and public life. Flying in from England for the event is Mrs. Eslanda Robeson. Dr. Corliss Lamont, former Council chairman, also will speak.

A major address on American-Soviet relations, entitled "America, Russia, China," will be given by Prof. Frederick Schuman of Williams College, authority on Soviet affairs. Boris Krylov, counselor on cultural affairs in the Washington Embassy of the U.S.S.R., will extend the greetings of his people in an address.

The Ukrainian Leontovich Chorus of 25 voices, appearing in full national costume, will offer Ukrainian folk songs and American numbers. Admission is $1.

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Ausp: Friends of the Guardian

Give This Paper To A Friend

the SPECTATOR

Appeal to reason

ON JULY 15 when the news came through that President Eisenhower had sent the U.S. Marines into Lebanon, following the nationalist revolt in Iraq, I was so shocked over this imperialist, brink-of-war action by the Republican Administration that I finally decided to accept the nomination of the Independent-Socialist Party for U.S. Senator.

As the summer passed by, I felt more and more certain that my decision had been correct. During the last week of August, Carmine De Sapio got a stranglehold on the Democratic State Convention and forced through a machine politician, Frank Hogan, as the Senatorial nominee. Then the Far Eastern crisis broke, with Secretary Dulles threatening to drag the American people into a Third World War over the Chinese Communist regime's attempt to recover Quemoy and other offshore islands obviously belonging to mainland China. The dangers involved in this second international crisis within two months were even greater than the hazards of the Middle Eastern situation.

CORLISS LAMONT

During the entire campaign neither Hogan nor Kenneth Keating, the Republican candidate for Senator, made the slightest objection to Dulles' provocative interventionism. And it was clear that both of them played along with the bi-partisan war policies in general. Therefore, as a dissenting and minority voice, it became my special task to expose these dangerous policies and to present to the voters of New York State genuine alternatives for peace.

EVERYWHERE I SPOKE I found an enthusiastic reaction to my ten-point peace program, which concentrated on the abolition of nuclear weapons tests and nuclear bombs, far-reaching disarmament and a drastic reduction in the U.S. arms budget, an end to the Cold War and an end to U.S. military intervention.

My slogan, "If world peace is to come, Secretary Dulles must go," was especially popular. Since Dulles' policies are, as the saying goes, "for the birds," and since he has a fine retreat at Duck Island in Lake Ontario, I suggested that he take a long rest there so that the American people and the entire world could have a rest from international crises.

I cited certain statistics that seemed to come as news to many in my audiences—for instance, that the U.S. Government has about 950 military bases scattered around the world in 73 countries maintained by more than 1,250,000 men; and that the Administration headed by Eisenhower, who is now warning against reckless Federal spending, is spending approximately $48 billion for current military purposes, or 64 % of the total budget of $75 billion.

AS I NOTED REPEATEDLY in my speeches, it took me about five minutes with pencil and paper to pare down Eisenhower's war budget from $48 billion to $8 billion. Then I allocated the $40 billion saved to great projects for the welfare of the American people. I put $5 billion into a vast Federal housing program; $5 billion into national health insurance; $5 billion into the extension of public education, scholarships and raising teachers' salaries; $5 billion into new hospitals and health centers; $5 billion into larger and longer unemployment insurance payments; and $5 billion into increased old age pensions. Pensions, since the close of World War II, have greatly decreased in dollar value owing to the continuing inflation that has resulted primarily from Eisenhower's reckless squandering of wealth on pernicious weapons of destruction.

As compared with my campaign for Senator on the American Labor Party ticket in 1952, this year there was far less Red-baiting, in fact almost none at all. The chief exception was my first interview on Barry Gray's radio program (WMCA, New York) when the bulk of his questions were designed to put me on the spot in regard to my attitude on Soviet Russia.

THE NUMBER OF VOTES REPORTED at this writing for me and the other candidates of the I-SP is disappointing. Yet I am convinced that our efforts and the energies of hundreds of devoted workers in the long campaign were well worthwhile. For our campaign constituted a new beginning for progressive forces throughout the state; and since we obtained a considerable amount of free radio and TV time, we were able to present basic issues to the voters.

Especially impressive, I think, was the showing made by our nominee for Governor, John T. McManus, in his TV debate with Gov. Harriman, Nelson Rockefeller and Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party. Mrs. Karolyn Kerry, in charge of radio and TV arrangements, deserves particular credit for her able job in obtaining every last minute over the air to which the I-SP was entitled by law.

In "The Talk of the Town" for Nov. 1 **The New Yorker**, contrasting my candidacy with "the gobbly gubernatorial fray," said that I was "eating normally." This was quite true. Since we socialist candidates had plenty to say on the fundamental economic and international issues, we did not feel the need of resorting to special eating stunts or personality contests. And when we finally win in this state and the country at large, it will be because our concrete program appeals to the common sense, intelligence and idealism of the American people.

—Corliss Lamont

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PUBLICATIONS

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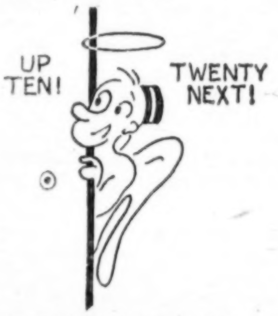

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Registration $2 at the Conference beginning Fri. noon, Nov. 28, or in advance by writing to Conference Secy. Eric J. Reinthaler, 177 E. 316 St., Willowick, Ohio. Social evening Fri.; opening session 9 a.m. Sat., Nov. 29.

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

ROCKWELL KENT, RUDOLPH GANZ speak at Silver Jubilee of American-Soviet Friendship. Also Mandel Terman speaks from Moscow; speaker from Soviet Embassy; entertainment; refreshments. Sat., Nov. 15, 8:15 p.m. Hall C-1, 32 W. Randolph. 90c. Ausp: CCASF.

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CLEVELAND

PETE SEEGER-SONNY TERRY, in only Cleveland concert, Sun., Nov. 23, 3 p.m., WHK Auditorium, 5000 Euclid Av. Tickets: Discount Record Shop and Burrows Ticket Office.

FRIDAY, NOV. 28, 9 P.M. Cocktail Party benefit **National Guardian,** Tudor Arms Hotel. Meet **John T. McManus,** progressives, socialists, trade unionists.

PUBLIC SESSION, National Conference of American Socialists, Sat., Nov. 29, 9 p.m., Tudor Arms Hotel. Hear **Vincent Hallinan, John T. McManus, Harvey O'-Connor,** others.

LOS ANGELES

"OUR FRIENDS THE RUSSIANS"—ROCKWELL KENT reports on recent trip to Soviet Union at celebration marking 25th **ANNIVERSARY** of U.S.-U.S.S.R. diplomatic relations. Other speakers: Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Prof. Harry Steinmetz, Dr. Sanford Goldner, Tom Chapman, I. L. W. U. Thurs., Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m., at BACES HALL, 1528 N. Vermont Av. Ausp: American-Russian Institute.

Reservations being taken now for 8th **ANNUAL DINNER** for **LEGAL PANEL** to be held Nov. 23 at Park Manor, 607 S. Western Av., 5 p.m. Program: Master of Ceremonies, Harry Bridges; Greetings from Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Joseph Forer, Washington attorney; Cisco Houston, folk singer; Waldemar Hille, pianist; Earl Scales, basso. Adm: $15 per person. Ausp: Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3 St., Rm. 318. MAdison 5-2169, MA 5-2160.

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THE GALLERY

THE REPUBLICAN DEFEAT at the polls may, to some, have had a bearing on American foreign policy, but the crowds at the United Nations on Election Day did not have anything to do with increased interest in international affairs. Alcoholic beverages cannot be sold in New York on Election Day, but the UN is international territory and its two well-stocked bars are permitted to open to UN personnel and special guests.

Last Tuesday the UN police force doubled its guard to keep out crashers. But the management of the bars, wise to the ways of the thirsty, put on extra bartenders. They were right; several dozen New Yorkers acting like international diplomats slipped through the cordon and enjoyed a merry Election Day toasting their candidates.

One New Yorker who was bending an elbow was asked to leave by a guard who said: "Americans aren't supposed to drink today." The quick-thinking tippler answered: "Sorry, old chap, we British aren't voting this year."

EUGENE J. McCARTHY, the Democrat who defeated Minnesota Republican incumbent Sen. Edward J. Thye, is a frequent lecturer on behalf of the Great Books program. Before the election he said: "If I win, some time late in December I will speak on St. Thomas Aquinas and his discourse on law. If I lose, I will speak on Machiavelli. If it's a tie, Ed Thye and I will discuss Zane Grey." . . . . In Chesterfield, S.C., Mrs. Margie Pusser, a write-in candidate, barely defeated incumbent W. E. Redfearn Sr. for Probate Judge. Redfearn was removed from office last July by Gov. Timmerman for public drunkenness. On Election Day he was in the state penitentiary on a murder charge . . . . At a convention in Miami Beach the Intl. Assn. of Police Chiefs held two elections for officers. The first was invalidated when one sleuth discovered that some of his colleagues stuffed the ballot box.

Wilmington Suburban Press
"Seems to me he's getting pretty darn friendly for a guy only making sixty bucks a week!"

ONE REASON GIVEN for Nelson Rockefeller's success as a campaigner is his boundless energy. During his campaign he began his day at 6 a.m. and stumped until midnight. Admirers also point out that he lives in a pent-house triplex on Fifth Av. without an elevator. Rockefeller credits his pep to daily dosages of vitamin pills. The Buying Service reports that they are not Guardian Vitamins, although many of our customers also live in walk-ups . . . . When **N.Y. Post** publisher Dorothy Schiff issued an eleventh-hour renunciation of Harriman, many thought she was influenced by her husband who was chairman of Democrats for Rockefeller. One I-SP candidate said: "Bed-fellows make strange politics." The reverse was true on an election night telecast where Earl Browder saw the Rockefeller election as a "victory for the New Deal." William Buckley Jr., editor of **National Review** and admirer of the late Sen. McCarthy, shook his head sadly in agreement.

AFTER A TELECAST featuring all New York gubernatorial candidates, John T. McManus asked Nelson Rockefeller if he wanted to "see his family financial tree" and held before him a copy of Victor Perlo's **Empire of High Finance** opened to the section on the Rockefeller family. In the center of the page was a circle representing the family and radiating from it were lines leading to the corporations in which it had control. Rockefeller glanced at the page and said: "Go on, it's exaggeration. Why, in this outfit here, we only have about 1% of the stock." The "outfit" was Standard Oil of New Jersey; 1% of the stock would be enough for any six people to retire on. Half the profits of this company come from holdings in Venezuela where Rockefeller has an estate on which he will recuperate from the campaign . . . . Republicans did well in one election—but it didn't count. Results of balloting on the sample voting machines at the U.S. pavilion at the Brussels Fair showed that Abraham Lincoln was the most popular American statesman. But even this victory was tarnished for the GOP: Herbert Hoover ran last.

—**Robert E. Light**

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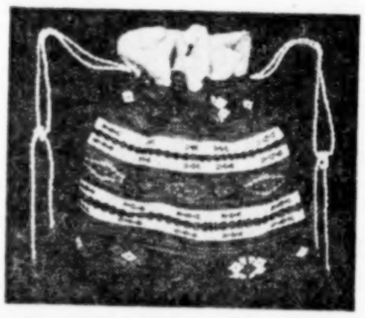

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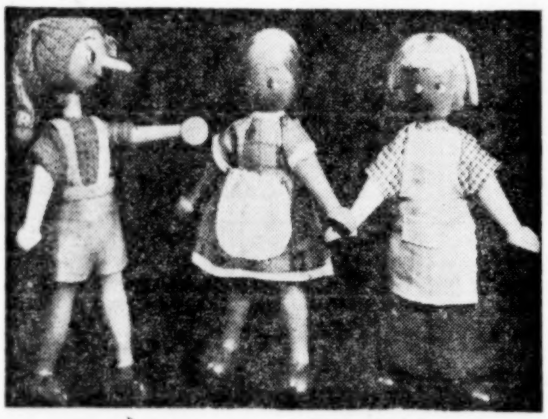

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FC 7525 SLEEP TIME songs and stories by **Pete Seeger** designed to lull youngsters to sleep. Songs include: Green Grass Grows All Around; Sweet Little Baby; Sweepy, Sweepy; Where Are My Pajamas?; Sam, the Whaler; Abiyoyo; One Grain of Sand.
12" 33-1/3 rpm $3.95

FC 7020 SONGS TO GROW ON. American folk songs for children sung by **Pete Seger, Charity Bailey, Adelaide Van Way, Lead Belly, Cisco Houston** with text. Songs include: By 'm By; Mail Boat; Cape Cod Chantey; Rock Island Line; Mocking Bird; Crawdad Hole; Night Herding Song; Going to Boston; Fire Down Below; Skip to My Lou; Tell Aunt Rhodie; Brass Wagon;
10" 33-1/3 rpm $3.50

FP701 AMERICAN FOLK SONGS for children sung by Pete Seeger with banjo. All Around the Kitchen, Bill Barlow, Bought Me A Cat, Clap Your Hands, Frog Went a-Courting, Jim Along Josie, Jim Crack Corn, She'll Be Coming Round the Mountain, This Old Man, Train is a-Coming. Text.
10" 33⅓ rpm $3.50